1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[19]

[19] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

4:Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *cauli* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 534

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*Fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the most tribes, was the pehen, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and invisible, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual assent during this period. [726]

The Araucanos had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the huemul (*cervus chilensis*), the pudu (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the puma (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were very numerous and included the wada or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, heathcocks, pigeon or wild goose, wild geese, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country entered to the waste of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *ají* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263 ●

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

5 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Honey, oil, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 361).

A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was spoil, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

Eating.—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Ercilla, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:132, 134).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

Settlements.—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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252 415 stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (küllko) (pl. 46, *4*) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (llepü) (pls. 44, *2*; 46, *3*), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 262 Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitaloe, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

[252] The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circuelillu. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of liwü, and of koifüñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

222 263 Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and orégano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Collaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the household supply of salt has run out.

The nut of the avellano—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe cones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, *3, 4*) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Colliripe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bio Bio and Bueno, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 52-year-old Colliripe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pelaifa [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Llancahue [an hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and three ruka have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven ruka. We have built several ruka in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of these groves, and find that all the ruka there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a ruka already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a ruka in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut untreated; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the rafters. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Coñuepe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into containers and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chuiwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalcoldún), mote (luko kachilla), catute (multrun or mul'a), and toasted wheat (kipuenllwa).

Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

19: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
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252. edge of the fireplace where it was constantly rotated to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Blood meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other food were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Pupen (ngue is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; sinupe and pehuilla were suspended on thin cellulo cords, which were poked through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Perca were stoked, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Mocha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

283 317 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic; more recently cilantro and onions have been added to these. Sugar, too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba mate," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolopan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We got our salt from a

10. Bilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went here one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of little then. That was long before there
were any trucks in this area."

In the early days geese was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell
or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today,
chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in
an empty clean eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be
cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is pushed off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The
shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents
stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to
insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but
it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men
return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the
ostrancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told
the following: "People look for rhea nests today in favorable areas [222]
on ostrancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the
eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so
big [4] feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horse-
back looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one
before he knows it. Here, let us say the man is off the nest finding—
you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always
close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest.
He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the
man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a
dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird is on the
nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions
to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a
person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the
male is a little distance away finding food for himself." She added
that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last.
As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks
upon the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze.
Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the
young rhea.

Wild geese used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262